



# The Industrial Union Bulletin

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## ONLY THE WORKERS CAN BUILD THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

To the establishment of the workers' republic, or the Co-operative Commonwealth, no consideration will be as important as the self-imposed discipline of the Industrial Union. On that day when the workers are called upon to assume charge of the mills, mines, factories, railways—the means of production—and supply the capitalist mode of production for profit by the Social mode of production for use, there will come to them the task which they alone will be competent to meet. On that day the workers will face the consummation of their ideals and the readjustment of industry in accordance with the revolutionary requirements for which the Industrial organization has prepared them.

Upon them will depend the one socially important task of continuing the process of production and the maintenance of the discipline in all departments which will be necessary to the most effective results.

The paramount importance of this task is seen when we reflect that politicians and parliaments would be utterly incapable of dealing with it, if in advance there should be no preparation on the part of the workers themselves. The men employed in forest, mine, mill, factory and transportation service. The national industrial council, chosen from among the actual producers, actuated in all they do by the proletarian spirit and purpose, taking their instructions from their fellow workers, will individually outrank all politicians and collectively supersede all parliaments.

The politician with a bill will make way for the producer with a plan. The grafter seeking an appropriation will be displaced by the industrial administrator seeking more efficient production. The distributor of political patronage will disappear before the distributor of the things Labor produces. And in the new conditions the politician's function will diminish under the growing power of the producer. Government must in the progressive processes of the working class movement be transformed from the rulership of a class based upon private ownership of the essential means of life, to an industrial democracy administered by the workers themselves and based upon the social ownership of all the resources and means of wealth production whereby progress is maintained and civilization advanced.

The progress of the movement necessarily subordinates the merely political and brings the industrial administration more and more into active control. The workers triumph through control of the industries.

To lay the foundations of the Co-operative Commonwealth does not consist in parliamentary speech making, in delivering rhetorical outbursts through the open windows of a parliament house, or embalmment in a Congressional Record. Something more than that is necessary. That something more is the economic organization—the workers united in mine, mill, factory, work shop and transportation service, to take possession of and retain the sources of wealth and the means of production. Only the workers can do this—and upon their ability to do it depends the realization of the Co-operative Commonwealth. In the very nature of the problem political parties are subordinate to the economic organism of the class whose freedom is sought.

If then the working class alone can lay the foundations of the Co-operative Commonwealth, as Industrial Unionists affirm, it follows necessarily that the working class must prepare itself for that great undertaking; by its proved ability to lay the foundations it will become the accredited supervisor of the superstructure—the dominant factor in society, without which Socialism becomes a delusion and the Co-operative Commonwealth a will-o'-the-wisp, never to be caught.

With a clear, scientific understanding of the working class revolutionary movement, as well as of the problems which will confront it in the days that are coming, the Industrial Workers of the World organizes the workers for the task. The I. W. W. is the school of the proletariat, the economic organization that lays the foundations for the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Workingmen of the world, you have yourselves alone to depend upon in working out your emancipation. The Co-operative Commonwealth waits upon your action in unity with your class; if it is attained it will be through your efforts in the economic organization. To be prepared is your privilege. To fail in this is to leave the future to politicians, confusion, compromise and defeat.

## IS THIS WHAT SOCIALISTS WORK FOR?

A daily newspaper printed here in Chicago, which claims to be the "first and only Socialist daily in America in the English language"—a claim, by the way, which all well-informed Socialists know is not true—has apparently set itself for the task of confusing the public mind as much as possible in regard to Socialism. The other day it came out with an editorial pronounced "What a Socialist President Might Do" with regard to some problems just now confronting the working class of the country. This Socialist mentor says:

"He"—the Socialist president—"when these companies [the Western Union and Postal telegraph concerns] entered upon a career of lawlessness would be relentless in his enforcement of all provisions [for capitalist laws] that applied to them."

Again, "He"—the Socialist president—"would demand that AS A CONDITION TO THE RETENTION OF THE FRANCHISES that business be conducted uninterruptedly."

And again, "The rats would be driven from the government printing office and the conditions of labor made A MODEL FOR PRIVATE EMPLOYERS. (1) They would not only be a model, but by their influence in SETTING A STANDARD would be a lever that would force private purchasers of labor power [to hand over their plants to the class which operates them? Oh, no!—Ed. I. U. B.] TO APPROACH THE SAME STANDARD." (1)

There you have it. The age-long conflict ended, the problem solved, Socialism in the highest of presidents.

Give us a Socialist president to enforce all provisions of the law to the end that the Western Union and Postal companies could RETAIN THEIR FRANCHISES and conduct their business without interruption (which they would doubtless be willing to do) and you have, as the editor says, "what the Socialist party is working for!"

Give us a Socialist president and he will make the government printing office a "model for private employers." Not only so, but the private employers and "purchasers of labor power" might be induced—in consideration of a continuance of their private ownership, we suppose—to "approach the same standard."

If that is not an abandonment of the fundamentals of Socialism, if it is not a cheap bid for votes to put a cheap grade of politicians into office, if it is an exhortation of Socialists philosophy and economics, the "Lord help us," where are we "at?" And that, the editor says, "is what the Socialist party is working for!"

There's a big field for the activities of Industrial Unionists in America.

## FUTILITY OF CRAFT UNION STRIKES

The Industrial Unionist considers the problems of the working class from the standpoint of the working class as a whole. As he knows from experience and observation that the craft union is injurious to the working class, that it operates to divide the workers and benefit the employing class, so he knows also that the craft union strike is often used as a weapon to crush the workers and cannot be regarded as a means, used by craft unions, to greatly and permanently benefit those who resort to it.

Impossible as it is to ignore the momentary phenomena of the class struggle, or avoid periodical conflicts with employers in the effort to obtain improvement in working conditions, it should always be impressed upon the workers themselves that they have little or nothing to gain by encouraging or inaugurating wildcat strikes. Better would it be for the toilers to perfect their economic organization and acquire the collective power to exclude the master from the plant, becoming themselves the masters. That is an object worth while, a goal that means freedom from exploitation. To vote to stay in the plant and operate it, is better than striking to go out and starve. When the working class gets wise, it will vote not for a petty strike here and there, nearly always to be beaten and seldom to be won, but for a strike against the private ownership of the plant—the means of production—by a master or a class of masters, who pay them enough merely to keep their labor power in working condition and outside of that have no interest in them.

Neither the craft union nor the craft union strike will ever liberate the working class. Essential to working class liberation is the economic organization of the workers, repudiating the craft union and uniting the workers in the industries wherever they are, for the purpose of operating and for the management of which they must prepare themselves by discipline and education. When they are so educated and disciplined no power will be equal to preventing them from taking and holding the means whereby they contribute to the social wealth, and no power but their own will determine how the wealth they produce shall be distributed.

## BECOME A SALESMAN

This week we begin the use of subscription cards for The Bulletin, and salesmen are wanted in all parts of the country. No inducement is offered to those who respond, except the one that will be all-sufficient—the building up of a paper owned by the workers themselves and devoted without any "ifs" or reservations to their interests. Before the close of this year the circulation should be more than doubled; that is to say, we should by the first of the new year have 15,000 paid subscriptions on the list. The way to accomplish this result is for those who have not yet joined our corps of hustlers to get busy. The subscription card is an aid in successful canvassing, and in every locality where there is a local union of the I. W. W. there are from ten to fifty workers who can be induced to take the paper. The rank and file of the working class everywhere in America want to know about Industrial Unionism, its aims and its philosophy, and the I. W. W. man who will get out among them can "do business."

The new sub cards are for half year and full year subscriptions—25 and 50 cents—put up in tabs of ten cards; each card is attached to a stub, enabling the canvasser to keep a complete record of sales, and each "salesman" is given a number which appears on the cards he sells. An account of all cards sent out will be kept at the general headquarters, and all cash remittances credited as they are received.

So we want a "salesman" to boost The Bulletin list where you live. Send in your order for a supply of the cards. Use the blank form below and order at once.

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WM. E. TRAUTMANN, G. S. T.  
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I am interested in extending the circulation of The Industrial Union Bulletin and wish you would send me.....  
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The Labor World of New Orleans publishes a statement issued by the American Federation of Labor in which the declaration is made that "the notorious Howard I. Caldwell and one Covington Hall," who, the statement says, "are two Industrial Workers of the World." This is like every other declaration of the A. F. of L. concerning the I. W. W.—it is false. The notorious Howard I. Caldwell is not a member of the I. W. W., but is drawing no salary from the I. W. W. for the work he is doing to offset the dastardly scabbing tactics employed by the A. F. of L. to defeat the brewers of New Orleans.

For the benefit of the billingsgate slingers and falsifiers who have so persistently handed out the dope that the I. W. W. has no regard for constitutions and never submits anything to the members, we print below the form of referendum sent out on the recent convention. It is almost identical with one submitted last year, which the deponents who approved the negative thing sent out by the W. F. of M. "action" officers did their best to include. Our form, as will be seen, is a referendum in the true sense. But if the reactionaries don't like it, they can do the other thing—it suits us.

Without wasting time or space on Bishop Potter of the Episcopal Church, it is well that he recently said be recorded. This holy man of God and spiritual guide of "lost souls," referring to the League conference, said: "The League conference was a very successful one. But not in your day or mine, nor so long as earth lasts, will there be a cessation of war." The peace of the world rests with the workers of the world. As labor forged the ploughshare, so will it beat the sword into pruning hooks and disperse standing armies by keeping out of them.

The pen picture of John Rockefeller, drawn by a former teacher in the family of the great impostor, is not offered as revolutionary literature, but it gives such an excellent view of the class of capitalist rascals of which Rockefeller is only a type, and comes from a source so authentic, that it may well find space in The Bulletin.

I am convinced that the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World is on bed-rock, and I know it irrespective of what this organization (the W. F. of M.) does or does not do, that the principles for which it stands, the purposes of its membership, are of such a nature that until it achieves the object for which it was brought into existence—Vincent St. John in W. F. of M. Convention.

Mr. Algernon Lee, who made his entry into the Annals Club of the S. P., by declaring that the I. W. W. delegate at Stuttgart had "half a vote" and was "a member of the S. L. P." has recognized that his report was too bald, at least so far as

# Stuttgart Congress

## ALMOST On I.W.W. Ground

Extracts from Resolution adopted by the Congress on the Relation of Economic Organization to the Political Party.

"To enfranchise the proletariat completely from the bonds of Intellectual, Political and Economic Serfdom, the Political and the Economic Struggle are alike necessary."

## BUT

"The Unions will not fully perform their duty in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers, unless a thorough Socialist spirit inspires their policy."

## Add to the Above:

That the INDUSTRIAL UNION, the Economic Organization of the Working Class, is of primary importance and must supersede the political state, and the World Movement for Socialism is clarified and INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM TRIUMPHANT.

the "half vote" is concerned. But he lets the other half of the lie stand, and will be allowed to retain his membership in the S. B.

A report of the cost to the State of Idaho of the Haywood trial makes a book of 86 pages, printed in small type, and since the report was put out new claims aggregating about \$4,000, have been allowed. The cost to the State runs up nearly to \$150,000. In addition, there has been paid out by Canyon County, Idaho, in witness fees, \$30,000. The people of Idaho will have reason to long remember Gooding and McParland.

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N. B.—Records of amounts received by the Hungarian Strike Committee from Hungarian Socialist Federation Sections, Hungarian Benefit Societies, and on auction books, tickets, etc., are in possession of that committee whose present secretary is Marton Gaal, 84 Pine Street, Bridgeport, Conn.

SAM J. FRENCH.

## Society and the Individual

It has been well established that man is a creature of circumstances, subject to forces over which he has no control. It is a matter left, so far as he is concerned, entirely in the hands of Dame Fortune (fortune as to who he is and where he is born). If he opens his eyes to the light of day in the eastern hemisphere, and is born of eastern parents, he will adopt the particular conventionalities of his particular country or community; and he will be of (if the custom) in polygamy, and consider himself "hard done by" if he is unable to have as many wives as he desires. He will adopt unquestionably the national religion, and, if religiously inclined, will assiduously perform the duties, and abide by the ceremonies which his religion requires of him. If he is a Mohammedan, he will turn his eyes to the east as often each day as custom demands: Mohammed will be his prophet, and Allah his God.

If Confucianism is the current religion, he will adopt the system of ethics laid down; or should he be born of some primitive race indulging in fetishism, he will adopt and worship the particular idol or idols holding sway in the community.

Should he be born in the western hemisphere, of Christian parents, he will adopt that religion and worship according to the particular sect in which he has been taught to believe; and like most others, will express his sorrow for the blindness of all other religions by worshipping and believing different to his own particular sect; and will consider polygamy a sin.

Socially, the same law operates. Should he be born of the "superior class," he will regard himself as being distinctly better than his less fortunate fellow beings of the "inferior class," as he would relatively term them. The method he will adopt to express this distinction is the right to live affluently without any effort of his own. He will prate of "blue blood," "ancestors," "superior education," and the like; and will really believe that he possesses a right to appropriate to his own particular use a large part of the national income, and persuade himself that he is so useful and necessary that society could not possibly exist without him.

Should he be born of the "inferior class," he will look upon himself as part of a vast machine, and entitled to work from the earliest possible moment that strength will permit until the time when, owing to the stress of age (about forty years), he will be discharged as unfit. If he is attached to a trade union or kindred society, he may receive a few shillings a week superannuation to keep body and soul together; or if not, and failing to obtain other assistance, spend the remainder of his life in the workhouse and dream of old-age pensions.

Were the child of a Mohammedan and the child of a Christian or the child of an "inferior person" to be transported

in their cradles, and kept in ignorance of their nationality and birth, we should find them adapt themselves to their different conditions as though nothing really had happened, and the conditions of birth would apparently play no part in their lives.

The operation of this law is tersely put by Mr. Herbert Spencer as "the modifiability of human nature through adaption to conditions"; in other words, conditions make the man; change the conditions, and you therefore change the man. Socialism is a term expressing the recognition of this law. A Socialist is a person who has observed and appreciates the law, and considers that slummy houses, streets and alleys make slummy men, women and children.

Low wages means bad food and insufficient clothing, which in turn affect the physical, mental and moral natures of man. Bad education produces ignorant people. Dreary, drab, uncomfortable workshops produce dreary, drab and pessimistic workers, whilst good conditions produce correspondingly opposite effects.

It is in this that the Socialist differs from the mere reformer, whose failure is due to the mistake of attacking the malady and not the germ. To strive to make a thief honest by mere talk and a term of imprisonment is obviously equivalent to putting new cloth in old clothes, and so making the age more conspicuous.

The rich man's shibboleth of "Be thrifty on a pound a week," has failed, and its failure is its condemnation. It is the recognition of this law which makes the Socialist large-hearted, so that he wars, not against the man, but against the system; and desires, not to drag all down to a common level, but to raise all up. He sees the inconsistency of the position clearly, and knows that not one of these evils need exist. Slummy dwellings do not exist because there is insufficient material and labor to build better, but because the landlord makes more profit out of them than he could out of healthier and better houses.

Bad food and insufficient clothing exist not because there is a dearth of these commodities, but because more profit is obtained by the capitalist thereby. The Socialist also knows that bad education does not exist because there is insufficient time, knowledge, and books, but he considers that, properly controlled, it is as cheap to print educational books as novels.

The Socialist aim, therefore, is to remove the present economic system, which is the root of the evils, and establish one which will enable us to obtain the very best that Nature can yield for all.

H. F. LEAP.



## Industrial Workers of the World

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W. E. TRAUTMANN

Room 212 Bush Temple  
CHICAGO - ILLINOIS



# INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

The character and functions of the Industrial Union can best be understood by comparing it with the pure and simple union which it is destined to overthrow and supersede. Let us consider these differences in detail.

(1) The pure and simple union organizes the workers according to trade or craft divisions. Each trade or section of a trade has an organization absolutely independent not only of the rest of the working class but even of those trades which are most closely and intimately connected with it. Indeed, it is so independent that a spirit of bitter jealousy and suspicion exists between unions of kindred trades. Each regards a certain portion of the field of production as its own exclusive territory. Should an "alien" worker cross the boundary line, he does so at his own peril. Moreover, as the frontier is in almost all cases necessarily vague and undefined, there exists in each case a stretch of "debatable land" which is the scene of almost incessant skirmishing. Joiners and carpenters, hoidemakers and engineers, are cases in point. Even did these jurisdictional fights not occur, the method of organization which divides the workers into a myriad of isolated fragments, which dissipates the strength of the army of labor by destroying its unity and cohesion, is obviously beneficial only to the capitalist class.

The Industrial Union, on the other hand, organizes the workers as a class. This does not mean, as the opponents of Industrial Unionism have sought to maintain, that no account is taken of the different trades and industries in which the workers are employed; that it contemplates one huge, unwieldy union in which the workers are enrolled indiscriminately and quite irrespective of the different functions and conditions of the various elements. Industrial Unionism does not propose to substitute confusion on a gigantic scale for the disintegration and separation of the existing unions. On the contrary, order and correlation are essential to its very nature.

Roughly speaking, the external form which the Industrial Union will assume is as follows:—It will be divided into a number of departments corresponding to the principal industries of the country, e. g. textile, mining, metal, transportation, building, etc. Each of these industrial departments in turn will be composed of minor subdivisions corresponding to the different trades whose combined and correlated labors are employed in that particular division of production. Thus the organization of each section of the section of an industry, while it will possess perfect mobility as a fighting force, will no longer be cursed by the impotence which the isolation of pure and simple unionism involves, but will meet in union with the other divisions of that industry supporting them and supported by them. A like connection will exist between the various industrial departments. In this way the entire class will be organized from one end of the country to the other in such a way as to place the complete control of production in its hands. The enormous power that will result from this change of posture is obvious. Let us take a hypothetical case.

We shall suppose that a division of the metal industry—say, the iron moulder—have come out on strike. What are the methods which pure and simple unionism adopts to bring the dispute to a successful issue? The craft union of the moulders will advertise that their trade is involved in a dispute in the existence of which order and moulder to keep away in the meantime. The strikers will meet from time to time, listen to frothy, unintelligent speeches from their officials and organizers, and receive strike pay as usual, while the funds hold out. But moulding is only one process through which iron runs; in its progress from the mine to the market. What of the other groups of workers in whose co-operative labors the moulders are partners? What of the furnacemen, the laborers, the pattern-makers, the finishers, polishers, cannellers, turners, etc., etc.? They continue at work as if nothing had happened or strike in sympathy with the moulder, but the eyes of the iron trade, the moulders' dispute is no affair of theirs. If the employer is able to enlist the services of blacklegs—as he generally does, owing to the existence of the pattern-maker, organized in his own craft union, has no hesitation in co-operating with the scab moulder and in producing patterns for him to work upon. The furnacemen, millwrights, keep up the fires and cannellers take up the scab product and carry it through the remaining

stages necessary to place it upon the market. Thus the employer, instead of having to face the combined efforts of the entire body of workers in his foundry, has to deal with only one section, which renders the task of crushing the revolt correspondingly easy. The same indifference to the general welfare of the working class as a whole is manifested by the "organized" moulders, should the case be reversed and another section of the trade involved in a strike. In other words, while the working class is carefully organized and the labors of each section skillfully and harmoniously co-ordinated and dovetailed for the ends of capitalist production, it is absolutely disorganized in the face of capitalist aggression. The working class is perfectly organized for the purpose of creating profits for the capitalist; in the field of combat against capital it is split up into a number of disconnected sections, all working at cross purposes. That co-operation between the forces of labor, which is so essential a feature of production, the Industrial Union seeks to extend to the entire working class. Should a dispute such as that mentioned above break out where the workers are organized on industrial lines, the strike would be extended to all the workers in that particular foundry. At the same time, the metal workers in other parts would set themselves to keep this foundry in quarantine. If not, they would come out on strike as a department, and, if need be, the strike could be extended to the entire working class. It is manifest that if the workers were once organized in a union such as that which they would have complete control of the whole machinery of production.

Secondly.—The pure and simple union is based upon the harmony and brotherhood of the capitalist class and the working class. Instead of teaching that the capitalist is a parasite and a robber, whose very existence is due to his plunder of labor, the pure and simple union teaches that the capitalist is indispensable to the working class; that capital and labor must go hand in hand. The natural outcome of this doctrine is the system of arbitration and conciliation boards which have sprung up in the various trades in which the fakir officials of the unions and the leading employers meet together in friendly conclave and decide amicably the extent to which the labor is to be plundered. The formation of such a board in this particular trade is the cherished ideal of every trade union "leader." It gives him an assured status. He is recognized by the masters as the capitalist class is entitled to negotiate with the men. He in turn, together with the union which he represents, recognizes the master class, capitalism, and the robbery of the working class as permanent institutions. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Secretary of the "Labor Party," offered a typical statement of the position of this class of union and union leader when addressing a meeting in South Wales in the course of his recent Colonial tour. "I always make it a rule," he said, "before speaking in favor of any strike, to enquire whether the men are right or wrong." No body of strikers during the whole history of the class struggle between capital and labor has ever demanded the whole product of their labor. They could only be "wrong" if they demanded more than that, were such a thing conceivable. Mr. MacDonald's statement, on the other hand, afforded evidence of his adherence to the principle upon which the pure and simple union is based, viz., that the capitalist class is entitled to rob the workers. "I am certain proportion of what they produce," he said, "before speaking in favor of any strike, to enquire whether the men are right or wrong." The precise extent of exploitation is decided by the Conciliation Board, composed of capitalists and pro-capitalist union leaders of the MacDonald-Barnes type. The net result of conciliation method is clearly proved in the reports issued by the Board of Trade in Rates of Wages and Hours of Labor. Mr. Wilson Fox of this Department, in his preface to a report which deals with the decrease of £7,000,000 in weekly wages in 1901, £22,600,000 in 1902, £38,300,000 in 1903, and £39,200,000 in 1904, states clearly the agencies whereby these cumulative decreases were brought about. "The great bulk of the changes were arranged by conciliation, arbitration, wage boards, sliding scales, and other conciliatory agencies without any interruption of work."

The Industrial Union, on the other

hand, is based upon a clear recognition of the class struggle. It teaches its members that all the wealth of society is the product of labor, manual and mental, of the working class; that the wealth of the capitalist, whether it be the vast fortunes of the Carnegies, Rockefellers, Levers, etc., or the modest bank balance of the petty bourgeois, represents that portion of the product of labor which has been filched from the workers by the useless capitalist class; that wages represent that portion of the product which the capitalist allows the worker to retain in order to keep himself alive and fit for work, and to maintain the coming generation of proletarians. The Industrial Union teaches its members that each dispute in which they are involved is merely an incident in the great struggle between capital and labor—a struggle that can only be brought to a successful issue by the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the Socialist Republic; that this supreme end must ever be kept in view. Thus the industrial worker is not merely kept in mind of the unity and solidarity of the working class, but every incident in the life of the union, every skirmish with the employers is made the text for proletarian education. Those who have participated in or have followed up a craft union strike, who have attended the meetings and listened to the speeches, are well aware of the utterly substanceless drive which the leaders hand out to the strikers as mental fodder. A strike conducted by the Industrial Union would no longer be an aimless blow, struck in the dark by men who knew not the real object of their attack, but an act of intelligent revolt, undertaken by men who were clearly conscious of the nature and aim of the strike in which they were involved, and of the means whereby it is to be brought to a successful issue.

Thirdly.—The pure and simple unions promote political disunity among the workers. Inasmuch as political phenomena are the reflex of economic facts, the complete disorganization of the working class is effected by this form of union; it reflects in the political arena and join themselves to the ranks of the various avowed capitalist parties, or to some one or other of the "Labor" Reform or quasi-socialist parties. Thus the capitalist class remains in undisputed control of the State, and is consequently able to exercise its power to buttress its economic supremacy.

The Industrial Union will create political unity in the working class. Those who are united in the economic field, organized on class lines, will be united in the political field. The old reactionary unions, drilled and disciplined in the intelligent prosecution of the class struggle, enlightened from day to day as to the reasons existing for their poverty and the exploiting class—such a working class will not drop its class-consciousness, its oneness of purpose and aim when it turns to the field of politics. Craft divisions, conciliation and arbitration methods, and capitalist economics in the union have as their inevitable results divisions, compromise, and reformism in politics. The unity of economic organization, the class basis, and the clear scientific thought and propaganda in the Industrial Union will effect the political unification of the workers on incomprehensible revolutionary lines, with the overthrow of the capitalist class rule as its avowed aim. At the 1895 general election the officials of the craft union of the life miners supported the murderer Asquith, although the blood of the butchered Featherstone miners was secretly dry upon his hands. This was carrying craft unionism to a logical conclusion. What were the Featherstone miners to do? They belonged to a different union, the Industrial Union, by teaching them that an injury to one is an injury to all, will prevent the repetition of infamous treachery of that sort.

In like manner the revolutionary purpose of the Industrial Union will logically call for the furtherance of that purpose, the carrying on of hostilities in the political stronghold of capitalism. Capitalism must be overthrown in all the channels of its activity, both economic and political. Furthermore, the mechanism of modern democratic administration,

the ballot, the hustings, and the State assembly, enable the revolutionary proletariat to deal with the capitalists as a class, to state their demands before them as a class, to marshal labor's forces in the eyes of the capitalist State, and to write surrender on peaceful terms by making manifest the futility of resistance. If capital attempted to oppose the mandate of a majority of revolutionary proletarian votes, it would have to encounter not merely votes, but proletarian voters, organized in the Industrial Union, controlling the entire mechanism of production, and able, in virtue of that control, to lock out the capitalist class and take up the administration of the productive forces of the country on their own behalf.

Fourthly.—The pure and simple union and the labor fakir, its high priest, stand or fall with the capitalist system. They are indeed a part of that system. Hence the trade union leader, although he may affect collectivist or "socialistic" tendencies, is at heart a staunch supporter and defender of capitalism. When capitalism is overthrown, the fakir will be out of a job. Like the capitalist, he will be compelled to work for a living. Knowing that, and possessing to the full the scientific skill which the bourgeois entertains to hard work, he is determined to do all that in him lies to keep back the evil day as far as possible. Thus it comes about, as a writer in the Independent Review recently maintained, that the trade unions are barricades sheltering capitalist society from the attacks of the revolutionary forces. The Wall Street Journal, the organ of the New York Stock Exchange, has more than once made a similar statement with reference to Mr. Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labor.

The Industrial Union, on the other hand, will form the mechanism whereby production will be administered in the Socialist Republic when the revolution has been accomplished. Thus, as we build up the new unions, we are laying the foundations of the society of the future. Under capitalism the functions of the union are militant and aggressive; under the Socialist Republic they will be administrative only. This change of function will involve a transformation in the union, as it is precisely those powers whereby it can inflict injury upon the capitalist that will enable it to take up the work of production. It is precisely its control over production, its ability to suspend it entirely or in part, and to that extent injure the capitalist class, that give it its power for militant action, its power to bring pressure upon the capitalist. The swords which the workers turn into ploughshares and the spears into pruning-hooks.

Here we reach the point which distinguishes the practical proletarian Socialist from the doctrinaire Socialist, the moon-struck, pure and simple Socialist, and the comet-struck, green gas inflated, middle class theoretician. The latter trusts entirely to political methods, to revolutionary oratory, to the promises of Socialist votes in Parliamentary divisions, as the means whereby the revolution is to be consummated and the Socialist Republic built up. The former trusts to the practical whole administration of the new society to be in the hands of a transformed State. Production is to be Socialized. We shall have a Socialist Minister of Mines, a Socialist Minister of Railways, etc., etc. In other words, the State, which in its origin and essence is an instrument of repression and class rule, by some sort of social miracle, is to change from the negative to the positive, to undergo a complete transformation not only of material but also of function, and direct and administer affairs in a classless society. Middle class utopianism, never conceived a more absurd vision. The human hand is just as capable of acting as physician as the class State machine is of administering production for the maintenance of social parasitism. It will disappear when parasitism is abolished.

This also clears from the path of the Socialist a stock argument which is raised against Socialism, viz., that it will create an overwhelming army of officials and give rise to a regime of bureaucracy and red tape, unparalleled in the history of man. The middle class State Socialist and the middle class opponent of Socialism are both alike in this respect, and limited by the class prejudices which dominate their minds. Their whole thought is so completely bourgeois that they are incapable of conceiving a commonwealth which is not designed on the patterns of bourgeois architecture. A society in which the Cabinet Minister, the politician, the policeman, and the spy shall have no place is to them utterly inconceivable. Not so the practical proletarian Socialist. He has no barriers of class prejudices standing in the way of an intelligent conception of the future society. Already engaged in the production of social wealth, already preparing to organize the lines laid down by the conditions of modern production, his purpose is not to devise some middle class State Socialist nightmare, but to free production and the useful productive forces of society from the incubus of a parasitic class. The production of wealth and the producers thereof will not be dominated by men outside and above the process of production, but by the working class themselves, those who are directly engaged in production. The revolutionary working class will not drive out the capitalist in order to saddle themselves with a bureaucracy of State officialdom—the old foe under a new name.

Let us recapitulate:—(1) The Industrial Union organizes the entire working class in one union. It breaks down the barriers of trade and craft, of skilled and unskilled labor. It carries the principle of the solidarity of labor into actual practice. It com-

fronts united class-conscious capitalist class with a united class-conscious working class. (2) The Industrial Union is organized on the basis of the class struggle. It not only organizes the workers but educates and enlightens them. It delivers them from the thralldom of capitalist economics and from the treacherous control of the labor fakir. It puts forward the overthrow of capitalism as the union's single aim, the essential preliminary to the attainment of social well-being. (3) The Industrial Union calls upon the workers to unite politically as well as economically, to attack the class State as the buttress and mainstay of social parasitism. In addition to its direct advocacy of working class political unity on revolutionary lines, its own method of organization, the clear principles on which it is based, and the atmosphere in which its members move, all tend to promote that unity in actual fact. (4) The Industrial Union lays the foundations of the Socialist Republic and provides the machinery by which production will be administered and directed when the revolution has been accomplished. In short, while the pure and simple union is the creature of reaction and capitalism, the Industrial Union stands for enlightenment, progress, and the Socialist Revolution.

## Yard Sticks and Other Sticks

"Workmen, clear up your minds," is the rallying cry of Frank Reed in the "Industrial Bulletin," page 3, No. 31. At the same time he lays bare such a cesspool of economic corruption as must gladden the heart of every greedy employer to ecstasy.

Red Reed, fellow-subscribers of the Bulletin, and then meditate on the crass ignorance of economics which must be enlightened before the first paragraph—let alone the whole—of the preamble of the I. W. W. can be understood.

Brother Reed, let me ask you two questions:—1st. Granting that the capitalists arbitrarily and of their own will, equipped only with unlimited greed, lying, misrepresentation and cheating, have the power to make the selling price, wherein do you hold the impossibility of "peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people?" 2nd. If greed, lying, misrepresentation and cheating of the consuming public is the source of the wellbeing of the capitalist class, then "the few, who make up the employing class," are entitled to "have the good things of life" which they possess, inasmuch as it is the consumer they exploit, not the worker—to judge by your remarks.

What good does it do us workmen to understand your meaning more easily than Thompson's economics, if your meaning adds to our confusion of mind and by no possibility can it dispel it?

When you have meditated over these two questions sufficiently long to get a fair idea of their scope, carefully weigh this definition of economic terms, viz:—

Production (modern and normal) is the shaping of natural material into suitable condition for human use and placing it conveniently to the consumer's hands.

This process, as a whole, is accepted by intelligent workmen as being entirely in the economic term production. In whatever part of this process labor-power is bought and sold there occurs exploitation of the worker.

Now, when we say that values are exchanged on a nearly equal basis, we mean that their cost of production is the prime factor in determining the selling price, we state an irrefutable economic fact. If appearances are against us, let the worker for appearances. If workmen find it difficult to understand, so much the more reason for our stating it—and not only stating it but repeating it until it is understood by all.

In the book on history and economics by which he is best known to workmen, Marx laid out the material for a bulwark against exploitation of mankind. Thinking workmen are determined to use this material in the construction of a Co-operative Commonwealth. Thoughtless and witless workmen will not do—they are worse than useless.

As to the value of experience compared with book learning, I know of no man who has been so successful in his life as I have been in mine. I have been guilty of this grave offense. But he is that any reason that Frank Reed should dare to cast aspersions on Marxian economics when correctly expounded and simplified, even though it be done by Thompson? In this book on history and economics by which he is best known to workmen, Marx laid out the material for a bulwark against exploitation of mankind. Thinking workmen are determined to use this material in the construction of a Co-operative Commonwealth. Thoughtless and witless workmen will not do—they are worse than useless.

As an organizer of the I. W. W. Thompson sounds a clear note to those of us who are committed to the work of emancipation, when he insists on the study of economics. He is a true stalwart, and has a man's swing. Give him room—and let's have more Workmen's Economics and less Reed music or brass. In conclusion let me add a word on value. I will take the mathematical form for the expression of the economic idea of value: (20 yds linen = 1 coat.) All included in the brackets is value because it is a balancing of one item of labor against another item of labor equal in amount—what- ever else there may be in it may

## Industrial Workers of the World

FOR ORGANIZATION

### Voluntary Contribution

To aid in maintaining the work of organizing the working class in the I. W. W. and disseminating its principles, I hereby pledge One-Half of One per cent of my wages per month for a period of 3 months beginning with

and will remit the amount to General Headquarters, 210 Bush Temple, Chicago, on or about the 1st of each succeeding month.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street No. \_\_\_\_\_

Postoffice \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

## Yard Sticks and Other Sticks

that must be more or less but the essential value is labor. Why? Simply because the labor that is measured or balanced is you and I and our fellow-workers. We put our lives into this thing that is on the scales, and we wish to be sure that when someone enjoys so much of your life's effort you are credited with an equal amount of life's effort of whomsoever else's commodity you may demand.

The employer has a relish for labor-power and it is weighed out to him with the same accuracy. We workers mount the scales against each other and our cost of production is indicated [190/100 days skilled labor-power = 1 day's unskilled labor-power], let us say. Some of us are bought and our labor-power utilized. The product of our working or labor is five times the value paid for the labor-power. The employer is 80 per cent to the good. If we were free men instead of wage slaves we would own the entire product. What gives the product to the employer? What makes us wage slaves instead of free men? Private ownership of the mills, mines, land, railways, etc.—the means of production. That little mathematical proposition [x linen = y coat] is the scientific indicator that we, human labor-power, are the only commodity on the market that creates, when used, a value greater than its cost of production and when the facts leading from the facts are grasped in something of their entirety, we realize the class-struggle that is and will be waged for possession of the means of production.

You mention, somewhere, value, superstition and mathematics in one sentence. Your entire article gives evidence of your familiarity with only the middle term, superstition. Yet you use good grammar. Why not study mathematics, learn to understand economics and particularly value, and become equal to the following mathematical form:

Frank Reed (grammar) }  
class concept } mathematics }  
unskilled } economics }  
workers } history }

Detroit, Mich. John Kortan.

Goldfield, Nevada, is practically cut off from railway communication with the outside world and has no means of moving freight, passengers or mail, except by wagon, owing to a strike on the Las Vegas & Tonopah railway. The men on strike were ordered back by officials of the Railway Brotherhoods, but refused to go and the miners of the district are backing the strikers. This situation accounts for the fact that no word has yet been received at general headquarters from Vincent St. John.

## LEARN WHAT IT IS

To know what Industrial Unionism is you must read what is said about it by its friends and what it says for itself; only in that way can its present aims and ultimate purposes be understood. The following are recommended to workmen who desire to learn what Industrial Unionism is:

Handbook of Industrial Unionism, 5c  
Constitution of the I. W. W., 5c  
Report of Secretary Trautmann, 5c  
"Industrial Unionism," 27c  
"Burning Question of Trades Unionism," by A. B. Lane, 5c  
"Address on I. W. W. Preamble," by A. B. Lane, 5c

Sent to any address, prepaid, for 25c

WM. E. TRAUTMANN  
210 BUSH TEMPLE  
CHICAGO - ILLINOIS

## PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

### THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

STENOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED.

The proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the I. W. W., held at Chicago, September 16 to 24 inclusive, has been printed in newspaper form and issued daily while the Convention was in Session. The general headquarters can fill a limited number of orders for the Report. There are eight issues, running from four to eight pages.

Price for the Complete File, 75c. ORDER NOW.

## Competition and Exploitation in the Railway Service

BY WM. J. PINKERTON

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(Continued)

They would have a standard of wages set for them, and no matter how high the prices established by the Trusts on the products of manufactures, of Mines, of food, and of clothing, the standardized government-owned railway men, dare not enter a protest because of offending the political bosses of the powers to be, and as a result loss of positions, they could not demand an increase in wages to offset the increased cost of living. They might, as in the case of the "Postal Clerks," be permitted to petition Congress and die before their petition was even read. They could vote, but would be denied the right to participate actively in political affairs. They might be discharged for some trivial offence, perhaps for a fancied insubordination in concealing some fancied misdeed of a fellow worker, and be punished as were the soldiers in the Brownsville affair, who, guilty and innocent alike, were discharged from the army and barred from enlisting again. With the bourgeoisie government-owned railway men their black-list would be a permanent institution, established in Washington, D. C. They would be forced to become docile slaves, surrendering their prerogatives to political machines of a middle class government, and if discharged would be forced to leave the United States to secure positions at the trade which they had spent their best endeavors and younger years to master.

That there is a fear of the growing power of Industrial Unionism is manifest in expressions from the political bosses, where semi-industrialism is likely to become a menace, or where it has shown itself a possible power. Wm. J. Bryan advocates government ownership of railways. Hill, of New York, of the coal mines, as a solution for the miners' troubles, and Carnegie is reported to have said that to preserve peace in the steel industries they must come under government control. This system of ownership would be a harvest for the present stockholders, and the workers would be overtaxed to pay the ever increasing interest on the vast sums of money appropriated for that purpose. It would simply be a reversal of the Union Pacific affair. The money to construct the road being loaned by the government and, after the interest amounted to the principal, was released to the corporation for the original amount. These issues, presented as they are to the workers by the silver tongued oratory of those who would preserve the present rotten political system for the aggrandizement of a few, demonstrate that the workers must use their greatest endeavors in protest against the gilded bait hung up for their enslavement in the form of "The Capitalistic Government Ownership of any of the tools of production," which means a step to perpetual wage slavery in the interest of Capitalism.

The workers should learn to propagate instead the doctrine of Industrial Unionism, whereby they can control the tools of production and medium of distribution in the interest of the human family and not of the few, as advocated by the Bryans, Hills and Carnegies. When the two cent rate becomes a general law, word will go forth from the industrial chiefs that operating expenses must be reduced, which means another addition of tons, freight train miles, passenger train miles, reduction of force here and there and if the "Capitalistic boutique" in the form of "Government Ownership of Railways" is accepted, it would be well to remember that the owners of the railways are also the largest shareholders in the steel industries, coal mines, iron mines, packing houses, and petroleum products, which means a cheaper rate of haulage for the master, a low standard of wage, with higher prices of the necessities of life for the worker, and an increase of dividends for the Capitalist.

The Industrial Worker has no sympathy for such laws; to him politics is only a shadow to be relegated with all its corrupt methods to the unquenchable flames of an everlasting crematory, never to rise again, and in its place Industrial Unionism will reign supreme.

Under Industrial Unionism everything would have its proper value, that is its use value. Political laws, made to protect crooked transactions, would as in the days of Lycurgus (B. C. 820) have no meaning. With the destruction of surplus value in the days of Lycurgus the following quotations from history will show some of the evils which ceased to exist:

"When this became current, many kinds of injustice ceased in Lacedaemon. Who would steal or take a bribe, who would defraud or rob? There were not even to be found in all their country either sophists, wandering fortune-tellers, keepers of infamous houses, or dealers in gold or silver trinkets, because there was no money. Law suits were banished from Lacedaemon with money. The Spartans knew neither riches nor poverty, but possessed an equal competency, and had a cheap and easy way of supplying their few wants. Their discourse seldom turned upon money or business or trade, but upon the praise of the excellent, or the contempt of the worthless; and the last was expressed with that pleasant and humor which conveyed instruction and correction, without seeming to intend it. Like bees, they acted with one impulse for the good of the whole. They were possessed with a thirst of honor and enthusiasm bordering upon insanity, and had not a wish but for their country."

A modern Lycurgus proposing such peace and harmony in the interest of a highly civilized and christian people, would be classed as "undesirable."

"Trade" value is that which makes thieves among all classes, whether it is the poor stealing for food or the financiers of capitalism robbing each other through underhanded methods as reported in the Harbinger case in the Chicago & Alton, when \$12,000,000 is supposed to have been ordered credited to construction expenses in order to find an excuse for borrowing money to pay on dividends.

A use value only existing, thievery and crime would cease to exist, as the following illustration will show: The thirsty can drink freely from the fountains and obtain as much water as is necessary for their uses, without intervention, because it has only a use value. Give water a surplus or "trade" value and it would not be long before a Rockefeller, or a Harriman would have a fence built around the Great Lakes, policed by an armed force drilled in the use of the latest engines of warfare, just as it is with the Steel Trust, the Harvester Trust, and the Coal and Iron Trusts. Thus it can be seen that water, given a surplus value, also becomes a criminal maker.

Under Industrialism there would be a sufficiency for all. Such being the case, there would be no thievery, no criminals and no armed force necessary and the suffering millions of humanity, thronging the overcrowded cities of capitalism, would become a happy and contented people.

The worker's only object in assisting any political party should be along the lines of where the greatest good can be accomplished in hastening Industrial Unionism. It is a self-evident truth that the laws of the Capitalists are merely voting traps laid for the workers to prevent their grasping the full text and meaning of the yawning chasm opened for them in the form of industrial slavery into which they are quietly being snared by the Civic Federation combined with the American Federation of Labor, recognizing the rights of craft contracts made to expire with the various crafts at separate times, thereby rendering the motto of the worker "an injury to one an injury to all" a farce and of no moment.

The feudal slave subscribed to an oath to sacrifice his life and limb in the interest of his master, and the prospective industrial slaves are being gradually trained in defiance of all laws, both state and national, to assume similar obligations as the following paragraphs abstracted word for word from railway personal records filed by the worker will show:

"Paragraph 1. Age.

"Paragraph 2. Are you a member of any organization or order? If so state fully what organization or order you are a member of.

"Paragraph 20. Are you an officer of any organization or order? If so state fully your position.

"Paragraph 30. Do you understand that this company does not block all frogs, guard rails, or switches and that you must govern yourself accordingly?"

"Paragraph 34. Do you understand that at some points on this line there are platforms, sheds, roofs, water tank frames, telegraph poles, bridges, scales, cars and other side obstructions, and trolley wires of street railways, which may be dangerous and that you must inform yourself as to the location of such obstructions and use due care to avoid injury."

"Paragraph 35. Do you understand that it is dangerous to stand erect upon cars and especially cars of extraordinary height, while passing over, through or under bridges or viaducts, trolley wires and other overhead structures, as shown under warnings on time card, at which there are no tell-tales or other warnings, and that necessary precautions must be used by all employees to protect themselves from injury from overhead structures at said points while riding on top of cars?"

"Paragraph 36. Do you understand that all employees are expected to protect themselves from personal injury by avoiding risks, and that those who may receive injuries on account of taking risks will have no claim on the company?"

On a great many railways this form of application is sworn to before a notary in employ of the corporation, making the entire 41 questions a surrender of life and limb to the Industrial Lords. Why should the workers be compelled to ride on top of freight cars any more than on the top of one of the modern passenger trains and be expected to question 35, to protect themselves on a dark stormy night from being struck by viaducts, sagging overhead wires, they have no means of locating, until after they are discovered laying on the tracks a mass of shattered human flesh and bones ground out of all semblance to a human being and beyond power of any to identify?

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

## What Are You Doing for The Bulletin?

# Industrial Workers of the World

## REFERENDUM REPORT SHEET



Local Secretaries will use only this blank when reporting to the General Headquarters the vote on matters herewith submitted for the action of local organizations.

General Headquarters:  
212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN,  
General Secretary-Treasurer.

For General Secretary-Treasurer:

WM. E. TRAUTMANN

For Assistant Secretary and General Organizer: VINCENT ST. JOHN

For Editor:

A. S. EDWARDS

	YES	NO		YES	NO
<b>STRIKE OUT:</b> From Sec. 7, Art. II. (page 10) all following "entire membership" to end of paragraph.			<b>AMENDMENT:</b> Sec. 8, Art. II. (page 11)—Strike out "The Editor shall be elected by The Convention" and substitute therefor "The Editor shall be nominated and elected in the same manner as the General Secretary-Treasurer, etc."		
<b>NEW SECTION:</b> To Article VIII. (page 18)—"No member of the I. W. W. shall represent the organization before a body of wage earners without first having been authorized by the G. E. B. or a subordinate part of the I. W. W."			<b>AMENDMENT:</b> Add to Sec. 4, Art. II. (page 8)—"He shall supervise the work of organizers in the field, and shall have a voice but no vote in the governing bodies of the organization."		
<b>AMENDMENT:</b> Changing Sec. 4, Art. V. (page 15)—"The initiation fee for members of Local Unions shall not exceed \$5.00, and the regular dues shall not exceed \$1.00 per month"			<b>STRIKE OUT:</b> Secs. 9 and 10, Art. II. (page 11) regarding "Local Executive Board."		
<b>AMENDMENT:</b> Add to Sec. 14, Art. III. (page 13)—"Provided said delegate is a member in good standing of one of the Locals so sending him."			<b>AMENDMENT:</b> Strike out "Assistant General Secretary-Treasurer" and substitute therefor "Assistant Secretary and General Organizer."		
<b>NEW SECTION:</b> To Art. III. (page 18)—"All national organizers must be Members-at-large during the term of their employment."			<b>SUBSTITUTE:</b> For Secs. 10 and 11, Art. VI. (page 17)— Section 10: All Departments of the Industrial Workers of the World shall pay a tax to the General Organization of 8 1-3 cents per month per member reported in good standing. Section 11: All Departments and other subordinate organizations of the Industrial Workers of the World shall use the official Industrial Workers of the World stamps in membership books. All stamps shall be paid for at 15 cents each and no book shall be considered in good standing except stamped up to date.		
<b>STRIKE OUT:</b> Sec. 1, Art. VIII. (page 18) regarding pledge of officers.					
<b>NEW CLAUSE:</b> Add to 2nd paragraph of Sec. 4, Art. II. — "He shall have a voice but no vote in the governing bodies of the organization."					

The voting will close November 20, 1907, when all reports must be forwarded at once to T. J. COLE, Member of the General Executive Board, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill., who will canvass the returns and announce the result.

Local secretaries and presiding officers of organizations participating in this referendum will fill out the certification below:

We certify that the above is a true and correct report  
of the votes cast by Members of Local Union

No. \_\_\_\_\_ Located at \_\_\_\_\_

in a regular meeting held \_\_\_\_\_

Chairman \_\_\_\_\_

Secretary \_\_\_\_\_

(SEAL)

### Orchard Trial Postponed

The time-honored and threadbare farce of taking Harry Orchard to Caldwell for trial was gone through again Saturday. The fat and sleek assassin and all-round-criminal—the net of Governor Gooding, Warden Whitney and the Pinkerton gang—was taken to Caldwell and the formality of continuing his case over the term of court, without objection from the prosecution, was completed in just 11 minutes.

Orchard was elegantly attired as usual, freshly shaven and massaged, like a beau going to a beauty show. He was treated, as usual, like an honored guest, rather than the common criminal and brutal murderer that he confesses himself to be. Yet there are some people—only a few now—who believe that this burlesque is in reality carried on in the interest of justice and good government.—Idaho Unionist.

### For This Relief, Much Thanks

The Supreme Court of the State of Michigan has handed down a decision which reads in part as follows:

"Workingmen have a right to fix a price upon their labor and refuse to work unless that price is obtained. Singly or in combination they have this right. They may use persuasion to induce men to join their organization, or refuse to work except for an established wage. They may present their cause to the public in the newspapers or circulars in a peaceable way, and with no attempt at coercion. If the effect in such a case is ruin to the employer, there is no re-

dress, for they have only exercised their legal rights.

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"No boy who is big enough would take a flogging without smashing back at his assailant.

"None but the weak, miserable, defenseless boys are whipped in public schools anywhere. If that is justice, let's introduce corporal punishment in our public schools at once."

This was the reply made by Principal E. H. Boyer to the call of the New York Board of Education for the opinions of teachers and principals regarding the need of establishing corporal punishment in the public schools. Boyer is principal of Public School 87, West Seventy-seventh street and Amsterdam avenue.

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